or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

in jxquichtin iauteoaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içcioual tlapiazque, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltempā. 726
in qujmocujtlaujzque oçelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in iauotli: ioan quimanazque quintzitzquizque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jquin iautlatoloz, auh in
oquicacque ca ie iautlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapializtica.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame quj-
mati in mexica in inchan oalmocallotia, in tetlanen-
que in jiaohoan no quitzacutiuja, inca nenonotzaloia
in chaneque, ioā in jnpilhoan, ioan namoicloia in
intlatquj atl neneçia in inchan.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlaxoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioal, in ma aca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma 722
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatiaz tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl qujnnaoatiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchtla-
toque, in tiacahoan: ioan in ixquich telpuchtli, injc [533]
momoztlae ioultica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaquiz
ixquich altepetl, in qujiaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan ixquich mexicatl.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaoa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan ixquich altepemaitl, icoac quiça in
jxquichtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeoa
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla qu-
namjqujtiuj ie tlatujnaoac ỹ oalcalaquja injc ontla-
piaia çeçeioal iuh quichioaia.

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10. Simbon, *op. cit.*, identifies *teixiō* as an intoxicating plant, and *tlapatl* as *Nicotiana communis*, a medicinal plant. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 223, has: *Iuz Nonor ꝛ otro ombre, o dar sus consejo: Motil, tlapatl, cenca xoxouhqui, tamaxtl nicteteuiloni. . . .*; *luz Emborracharse, o salir de seso: Yiuch oquac in motil, in tamaxtl, in teixiuhqui inic cyaxitic, inic ocxeconic.* In Lib. VI, fol. 209r, of the *Florentine Codex*, this passage appears: "*In tlatlatlauiloz, in tlamatiquitztiuitzinoz: iā yehqui tajaiā, in yehqui tlapatl atiqui. Itechpa mopouia: in cepin ciacame quixcuepaxoque teixcuitlatl: ca tehqui in tax tlamatiqui, tax tlapatl cquiqui: inic ueuej quihuetzquj in ilcia ic uecuitlahoa: ipampa inic ciuia, in ueue tamatilo: ihcuac. Tlein nauh catiqui, ilcia nauh catiquiqui: tuc cel cujcatoa, ciacame quipilalouia in tamalli: in ciacame tleiej, tleiej in ilcia tolli.*" The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Esto loco quiere decir. Andar tantando y dandose palmadas en el pecho como hombre que a comido hallacles. Por metaphora se dize: de aquel que derede trauiesa y desbaratado en su viaje, derede cbregido, no se quiere enmendar: y a este tal diremos que se bauajda que se comejdo que ninguna bien enseja recibe ni enseja.*"

11. *Tetlan nenque*: uncertain, according to Simbon, *op. cit. Tetlanenaini*, however, in Molina, *op. cit.*, is translated as *chismare or malsin* (gossip, tale-bearer; lies, ?, possibly, informer).

12. *Ahi*: probably *aole* is meant.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

stems; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualooj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiiotl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoquitecomatl, ioã in jxquich tlamantli çoquitlatquitl. 443 463 656 [276] [415]

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo quimocuitlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca, aço tlaçoilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aqujn qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, niac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca qujchioaia iiauitacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianquizttli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 235, describes *cyaquilli* as "*bejar y renuevo de las frisoles*"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mirandybyanchranum blandum* L.

[p. 70 is blank]

342 643 [373] 644 722 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, likewise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Cuecalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj coioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotoca, in vncan iiexan tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coucali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texcali in janeçenqujxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan onocochia, intequjuh catca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapialoia itic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapialoia.

643 542 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn melleiqujxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujttaia, qujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoztiaia, inje ollamalos, inje teellaquaoaia, inje tepaquiltiaia tlatoanj: quinnaoztiaia in calpixque, inje qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpiloni, ioan queçroatl, ioan mxieoatl: inje mocencaoa inje mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaujlilo, tlaxahujlo, tlachpano:

643 525 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xoxoiujtilmatli, in tlaçoxaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcozcatl, teucujtlacozcatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in iehoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxquich itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, iceceiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixquich tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujmaca in jxquich oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

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13. *Tlatelolcatlapan*: see Antonio Monzón, *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlacalaculli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 369, "los puntos quedaron subdivididos en nuestros calpulli ó barrios, nuestras las parcialidades eran, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó callejuelas."

14. *Tlaçotl*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to dowry, in which case the Aztec should read *chiuali*.

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[8] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in ennoca, in çoçetoca, tonatiuh quixnamjctoca. Auh in jxquich nepapan tlacatl, amo quixoçoçoque in intzontecō in veca tlaca. auh in axiocaque Españoles onercpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhteri cavallos:

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapieliztli, in novian techiacalotinemj ic: xuchmjlca in acaltica, necoccampa tlamalo, necoccampa mjcoa.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and [137] swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *colorin* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

Auh in jxquich macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maiaoia, mjec in mapiztmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoā mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much quaioc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxquiçacatl: yoan qujquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan qujquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, quimoonxqujaia qujtotetepotzaia, quitotoponjaia inje quiquaia yoā in tetzmeti, yoan in xanteti quitetexoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

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3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los cuerpolos eran altos . . . los otros bodies eran bazos . . . los cavallos eran bazos."*

4. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 550, omits this passage.

5. *Elotzatl*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grain have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as *"hevas . . . de mays verde y seco parecias cosas de trigo, y es blanco, alimenlo los cuerpos y cavas animales."* Ximenez, *op. cit.*, p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests *"maize straw"* as a name.

6. *Tequixquiçacatl*: probably pastura on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has *"hevas muy dañosa y ponzoñosa, que se hace en tierras salitrosas . . . se hacen para quemar."* Ximenez, *op. cit.*, p. 225, citing Jiménez (*op. cit.*), calls it more grass or couch grass, possibly *Dentilobi spinosa* (L.) Gmelin. *Grama* (*tequixquiçacatl* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) identifies as *Paniceum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzompanquavitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 277); *"es árbol mediano, tiene la copa redonda y de hoja parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman equimixochitl; son muy coloradas y de hoja parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman tequiloztli"*; p. 340: *"Tequiloztli, árbol, flor y fruto del Colorin. Erythrina corallodendron. D.C. Leguminosae."* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 831, giving the same botanical identification and *E. americana* Mill., adds the current common name (*zompanda*), and observes of the bean (*colorin*) that it is *"especie de frijolillo rojo, dove que contiene un alcaloide muy ponzoñoso."*

8. *Tzacuxuchitl*. Ximenez, *op. cit.*, p. 309, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Matia campanulata* La Llave and Lex. (*f.*), *Epidendrum pastorale* La Llave and Lex. (*f.*), *Cattleya mendelianae* Rchb.f.(*f.*) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxochitl a mendoli flumbre: Matia campanulata* La Llave y Lex, or *B. candidans* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is *planta or cosa*. *Tlaquilin*, however, is given by Ximenez, *op. cit.*, p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as *maravilla*. It is medicinal. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 184, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera, and prunpanilla.*

10. *Texoxol*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like *xocoxalchi*: *"hojas muy verdes y ponzoñosas y redondillas, y tienden unas hierbas, y tienen las ramas coloradas. . . . nacen . . . donde, y especias y largarillas . . . la semilla de esta raiz molida"* (medicinal). Ximenez identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moçiño and Sessé — commonly, *siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 222). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 83, adds *S. guatemalense* H. B. K. and *S. mexicanum* Sm.

11. Cf., however, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 550: *"cind Stock und Leder und Hörnhaut, die braten, kochen, rösten, brennen, essen es so, und Tonerdigen und Lehmkügel und essen Texoxol."* Of *texoxol* as *texocol*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 249) says it is a hot savoury plant used for relishing. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 162 (*texocotl*), says it is *"nombre vulgar de varias plantas crasulaceáceas, como el cuyulcuilillo o tripas* (Cotyledon *tolapensis*), *el tetzpocotle* (Sedum *lanceolatum*, *y otros."*

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7: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

such suffering. It was terrifying how they were besieged; truly, in great numbers they starved. And quite calmly [the enemy] hemmed us in and contained us.

in apiaxtic: auh çan yuian tachvalcaltechpachotiaque, çan yuiã techoloãliaque. 722 762

III

[p. 102 is blank]